

The Sun.

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No Step Backward!

The hustling which springs up in a defeated or subdued political organization to pull itself together and get out all possible expressions of undiminished estimate of its own power or importance, is less lively among the Republicans than among the Mugwumps. They have naturally more wind for talk, and in putting in their claim for the fruits of a canvass in which their only prominence was in direct and bitter opposition to the Democrats they are making a greater clatter with it, if anything, than they did before the voting.

Eighteen hundred and ninety has seen the first genuine Democratic triumph since 1852. It is now time to reflect how it came about. The new Republicanism, the most brutal and rampant form of enmity the Democracy ever encountered, has shattered itself in its assault on a re-awakened and re-united party. The latter emerges from the conflict in its former strength, self-confidence, and self-trust. Its camp is no longer open to be pillaged or betrayed. The Democracy itself is in the saddle, with no intention of surrendering a foot of its holdings. It will take no step backward. It contemplates the surrender of its recently reasserted supremacy and its present national prestige to be the time enough to surrender after the great contest with the Republican two years from last Tuesday. As Mr. Tilden used to say, it is never too late to surrender.

But there is to be no surrender, preliminary or otherwise, either to Mugwumps or Republicans. From to-day there is to be a straight Democratic fight for the principles and party of THOMAS JEFFERSON, with a straight Democratic victory in sight that becomes surer as the party is less hampered with entangling alliances or its spirit damped with doubt as to its value.

The unvarying triumph of this style of warfare which we have witnessed during the past six years in the politics of New York must be scored over the era of preparation for the Presidential election of 1892. From now on Democrats for the Democracy and the Democracy for Democrats is the watchword.

Cleveland's Hostility to Hill.

CHARLES S. FAIRCHILD of New York was Secretary of the Treasury under GROVER CLEVELAND's administration as President of the United States.

WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT of Massachusetts was Secretary of War under the same Administration.

During the recent campaign in this city Mr. FAIRCHILD did his utmost to elect the Republican candidate for Mayor and to defeat the Democratic candidate, HUGH J. GRANT. Mr. FAIRCHILD is the same sort of Democrat that Mr. CLEVELAND is. He is for the party when it gives him a place, and against it at other times. In other words, he is always for FAIRCHILD.

Mr. WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT was in this city on Tuesday and talked to a reporter of our esteemed contemporary, the *New York Tribune*, in this wise:

"The Democrats of my State will send a solid Cleveland delegation to the Democratic National Convention in 1892. Cleveland has a name only mentioned in connection with an emphatic negative. The people have not forgotten 1888. Hill cannot win the support of the South and West. The Democrats of these States realize that Hill is a majority in 1892 in this State, while Cleveland was defeated. The idea that Hill did not know how the State was going is preposterous."

The meaning of these words cannot be mistaken. The speaker intended to charge Governor HILL with treachery to President CLEVELAND in the campaign of 1888. The charge is false. We do not say that Mr. ENDICOTT knows it to be false, but he ought to know it. Those who were about Governor HILL during the Presidential campaign of 1888, and who know how he felt and what he did, know that he was absolutely faithful to the ticket.

But once for all it should be understood that had it not been for Governor HILL's unflinching fidelity to the Democracy to Mr. CLEVELAND's side, the latter would have lost New York for forty thousand instead of fifteen thousand.

As for Mr. CLEVELAND himself, up to the present time he has never ventured, certainly not in public, to express any doubt of Governor HILL's entire fidelity. The attitude, however, of the members of his Cabinet on this subject cannot be disregarded. Their sentiments will be attributed to their chief; and when Mr. CLEVELAND's Secretary of War distinctly intimates that Governor HILL was treacherous in 1888, nobody will believe that he makes the accusation without the sanction, or at least the sympathy, of Mr. CLEVELAND himself.

Mr. CLEVELAND has a right of this kind to make on the Governor, why does he not come out and make it in person like a man, instead of under cover by means of his former Secretaries?

Can Bismarck be Gagged?

There was no more striking incident connected with the celebration of VON MOLTKE's sixtieth birthday than the absence of BISMARCK. For the imperial crown now worn by the young Kaiser he is more indebted to the brain of the statesman than to the soldier's sword. Had not the iron hand of Bismarck grasped the helm of the Prussian State in 1862, Von Moltke would have had no opportunity to display his strategic talents in 1866 and 1870. In spite of his tremendous obligations to the ex-Chancellor, WILLIAM II. did not invite him to take part in honoring the military architect of the German empire. Yet the presence of BISMARCK must have been missed in Berlin, and all patriotic Germans must have felt with another indignation that "CÆSAR's" peasant, shorn of BRUTUS's bust, did but of Rome's great son remind her more.

We are now told that the slight put upon the ex-Chancellor was due to his refusal to submit to the young Emperor the proof sheets of the life of WILLIAM I., which Bismarck has been engaged for some time in writing. The ground on which the demand for the proof sheets is based is that questions of State would inevitably be discussed in any biography of the first head of the new German empire, and especially in one edited by his Prime Minister. The plea is plausible enough, and by the irony of fortune it happens to be identical with that which Bismarck himself made the pretext for the persecution of Count HART VON ARNIM and for the arrest of Prof. VON GIEFFKEN. But it scarcely becomes the grandson of WILLIAM I. to seek precedents and technical excuses for inflicting an indignity on the greatest benefactor of the house of Hohenlohe.

When we consider the inestimable services performed by Bismarck, it seems not merely ungracious, but impious, to insist upon subjecting his writings to the same

rigorous revision which the compositions of smaller men have undergone. It is a kind of insult to assume that the reputation of WILLIAM I. or the well-being of Prussia could be harmed by any utterance of him whose life has been expended in the exaltation of the one and the aggrandizement of the other. No dynasty has anything to gain by gagging its most loyal liegeman, nor can any country wish to muzzle its first citizen. Under all the circumstances of the case, the disinterested onlookers who forecast the verdict of posterity, will deem Bismarck justified in sending his book to England for publication, sooner than acknowledge that his writings require to be submitted to the Prussian censorship. By such an act the great ex-Chancellor would deny the young Kaiser's competence to revise the story of the erection of his throne, and he would appeal, like RACON, to foreign countries and to distant times.

To gag BISMARCK is impossible. His work speaks for him with an eloquence that no ingratitude can muffle and no prejudice can resist. The crowning achievement of his statescraft, the creation of German unity, is one of the pyramids and epoch-making facts of history. All this Napoleon accomplished with sword and spear and by comparison. A thousand years hence the first French empire is likely to be remembered only as a dazzling episode, like the short-lived realm constructed by ZENOBIUS and TAMERLANE. It is scarcely conceivable, however, that consolidated Germany will ever revert to the condition from which Bismarck rescued her. The fabric which his hands have fashioned seems destined to stand unshaken long after the house of Hohenlohe, the monarchical régime, and the Prussian military system have been remitted to the limbo of outworn and discarded toys. There is but one gift more precious to a nation than unity, and without an antecedent unity, liberty itself is unattainable. The only way when the ardent champion of German freedom would applaud Bismarck's wisdom in discerning that to lay deep and immovable foundations of unity demanded all the energies of one man's short life. Let others rear the superstructure on the rock-like base that bears his name.

In no other way could WILLIAM II. so infallibly provoke a reaction in Bismarck's favor as by attempting to humiliate the benefactor of his family and the aggrandizer of the State. They who lately have descended on Bismarck's faults and shortcomings, will presently think only of his virtues, and, shocked by their sovereign's ingratitude, they may give BISMARCK in his lifetime a foretaste of the passionate devotion with which his memory is certain to be cherished. We may add that in no other way so sure, and so gravely as by the course pursued toward BISMARCK could the present Emperor weaken the respect of his subjects, which is the sole foundation of his throne. The Progressists as well as the Socialists are ripe for a republic, and how much resistance are they likely to encounter from Conservatives, of whom BISMARCK was the type, when they see how the Hohenlohe-LERNERS treat their faithful and invaluable servants?

A Terrible Mistake.

Archdeacon MACKAY SMITH of this town spoke very earnestly at the Episcopal Church Congress on Wednesday of "the tremendous problem and awful danger" now confronting the Church in all great communities. It is the problem of overcoming the indifference and even active hostility of the great masses of the people. The Salvation Army, to his thinking, is the only Protestant organization which has adopted the proper methods of reaching the masses. It is very true that the Episcopal Church and the Protestant Churches generally are producing that effect on the masses. Yet they have not failed because of lack of effort, for of recent years the conversion of these heathen, as the Archdeacon further describes them, has been one of the chief objects upon which they have expended labor and money. A New York parish is accounted slothful and parsimonious if it does not maintain outlying missions for such people, and keep in motion an extensive system of charitable activities for their benefit. Where once a single clergyman sufficed for a parish, a large clerical force is now employed, and chiefly for labors of that kind. Denominations have been added to the laborers in the vineyard, and pious men and women of the laity are now co-workers. The catalogue of the religious and charitable agencies of such Episcopal parishes as Grace, St. George's, the Ascension, St. Thomas's, and St. Bartholomew's is impressive in its length; and the list of clergymen and laymen steadily and diligently engaged in them contains hundreds of names, including those of many ladies of social prominence. Work in the slums, as they are called, has become fashionable.

Therefore we cannot agree with the Archdeacon that the failure of the Episcopal Church to reach the hearts of the great masses of the people is due to the "lethargy and selfishness of the metropolitan clergy." The clergy are not indolent in their duty. But when he attributes the insignificant result to their narrowness, we do not dissent, though it is not the merely ecclesiastical narrowness of which he speaks. It is the narrowness of view that prevents them from comprehending the sentiment, the needs, the situation, and the causes of the attitude of the people. It proceeds from lack of imagination and from inability to understand their motives; and such deficiency has been displayed by no other clergyman more than by Archdeacon SMITH himself.

He was one of the political parsons during the late canvass, and he made himself conspicuous in denouncing the ruling majority of this town as politically low and degraded and morally depraved. He described the Government establishment as corrupt and semi-criminal, and intimated that he was the more satisfactory to a great part of them. He thus broadened the gulf between the Church and the masses of the people. He became their slanderer, and allied himself with a political movement which started in duplicity and untruth, and got its whole impulse from lies and false pretences. He separated himself in sympathy more than ever from those whose allegiance must always be the strongest support of the Church; and they resented his words and expressed their honest convictions and admirable party loyalty by beating him at the polls. Archdeacon SMITH may live in New York many years, but he will never recover from that fatal blow. Talk as much as he may about the necessity of reaching "the masses," he, at least, will never be able to draw them to his ministrations.

In its whole history in this town the Episcopal Church has never before estranged the great body of the people from it so thoroughly as by the political activity of some of its leading clergy during the late canvass. They took a totally false and base view of the situation. They outraged the self-respect of the great majority of the people, and they gave religious sanction to a political deal made for low ends only, to corrupt and knish combination. They decked out in clerical robes with colors hateful to the

people whom this Church Congress most of all would win to its support. It was a lamentable mistake, a terrible mistake, which has paralyzed every movement of the Church in that direction. The Salvation Army was wiser. It did not grab at the bait of the knavish politicians.

The Legal Powers of Factory Inspectors.

An interesting case has just arisen at Amsterdam in this State which will lead to a judicial determination concerning the rights of Factory Inspectors under the statute passed by the last Legislature.

Prior to this year the officers charged with the duty of inspecting factories in this State were a Factory Inspector appointed by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate; an Assistant Factory Inspector appointed in the same manner, and eight Deputy Factory Inspectors, who were appointed, not by the Governor, but by the chief Factory Inspector himself. The Legislature of 1889 amended the law by authorizing the Factory Inspector to appoint deputies to a number not exceeding sixteen in all, of whom eight might be women. He was also empowered to divide the State into districts, and assign one or more deputies to each district, and transfer them from district to district. The pay of the deputies is one thousand dollars a year, and it is their duty, under the supervision and direction of their chief, to enforce the statute relating to the employment of women and children in manufacturing establishments, and to cause all violators of the law to be prosecuted. For this purpose, says the act of 1889, "they and each of them are hereby empowered to visit and inspect at all reasonable hours, and as often as shall be practicable, and necessary, all manufacturing establishments in this State."

Miss BERTHA L. ASCHOFF is a Deputy Factory Inspector under the new law, assigned to the district in which the city of Amsterdam is situated. In the discharge of her official duties she applied for admission to the factory of the Inman Manufacturing Company. Mr. HOMER LEWIS, the President of the company, refused to admit her, and she promptly caused his arrest. The law provides that any person who violates or omits to comply with any of its provisions shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be punished by a fine of not less than twenty nor more than one hundred dollars, or by imprisonment for not less than thirty nor more than ninety days, or by both such fine and imprisonment. The proceedings against Mr. LEWIS are doubtless based upon this provision, and it will be interesting to see on what ground he can justify his refusal to admit the Inspector.

The despatch from Albany which announces the arrest states that the exclamation of Miss ASCHOFF was due to the fact that she was an officer of a labor organization in Amsterdam which took a prominent part in a strike there in 1887. Even if this be true, it is not easy to perceive how it can affect her authority as an officer of the State of New York. In the prosecution which has been instituted the only questions which can be considered are: First, whether she was entitled to admission to the factory at the time she applied to be admitted; secondly, whether the person proceeded against is responsible for her exclusion; and thirdly, whether his act constitutes a misdemeanor under the statute. Miss ASCHOFF's previous participation in labor agitation, whether on the side of the employers or the employed, can have no legitimate bearing upon the proper determination of these questions.

A Few Remarks.

Some interesting opinions expressed in our esteemed tariff-absorbed contemporary, the *Utica Observer*, are correct, some are not, and some are open to discussion. Thus:

"Extreme protection was rejected on Nov. 4 by a spontaneous uprising of the people against it."

The uprising was not so spontaneous as it might have been. About 70 per cent. of the Democrats voted, and about 30 per cent. of the Republicans stayed at home.

"Had the Fifty-third Congress passed a radical free trade measure, the result would have been quite as emphatic and overwhelming."

There would have been no fractional protest against it. The entire country would have risen as in 1888, and the result would have been the same as then, only vastly more emphatic.

"What the American people demand is a 'happy medium' between the two, and that is exactly what the Democracy in three national platforms is pledged to secure."

The inaccuracy of our contemporary lies chiefly in this paragraph. In 1880 the Democratic platform was a "tariff for revenue only," that is to say, for free trade. In 1888 it was GROVER CLEVELAND and ROGER Q. MILLER, both in favor of replacing the tariff with JEFFERSON'S abhorrence, the internal revenue. The Democratic platform of 1884 alone asserted the Jeffersonian doctrine of Federal taxation. Unfortunately, it was asserted to be betrayed.

Here, finally, the *Observer* puts the case so that all may understand and be certain of its orthodoxy:

"A tariff constructed on a reasonable basis, fair to the consumers on the one hand, and to the manufacturers on the other; so framed that the difference in the cost of labor here and in Europe will be fully covered, such a tariff must meet the expectations and the wishes of the majority of the people. And it should be the aim of Congress to achieve it."

Another Bet.

Some may experience a temptation to depart from the solid rule of equity applicable to such cases as that presented here, but examination will forbid it none the less. A correspondent who has been playing cards, requests *THE SUN's* opinion upon these circumstances:

"A and B are playing cards for money. A bets B that he will win the game in a specified time. B wins the game, neither losing nor winning. Q wins the money."

The fact that the language is so explicit as to leave no room for doubt, and that the declared competitor, suggests the idea that this wager may differ from one on his performance against another's or against time, and that the rule will not govern which divides bets when the result is a tie. A, however, was backing the game against B. If he lost B and he lost, A won. If B came out ahead of it, he won; but if they quit even the stakes were left easy with the honors. The bet is a tie as the result is a tie, and the stakes are divided.

American more patriotic than he; and there is no politician who would scorn more than any dishonorable transaction or any cheating device. He has never been guilty of any such expression as the *Christian Union* attributes to him.

THE CAPE VINISTINE DISASTER.

How this ill-fated Cruise Sergeant Correspondent to the *New York Herald* was killed by the British war ship *Sergeant* off Cape Finisterre, or rather off Cape Bacc, near Camarines, while running for shelter into one of the Spanish bays, revives an old controversy as to her fate. While the disaster was due to her previous loss of direction in a storm, it seemed to us admirably combined high seas, low coal consumption, good coal endurance, and good boiler power, all on a displacement of 1,700 tons to represent a moderate cost, both for original construction and for maintenance. It seemed almost an ideal type for economical station service; and while, of course, the vessels were unarmed, yet a water-line steel deck, extending throughout the whole length, and coal bunkers disposed around the machinery made them essentially protected cruisers.

Indeed, this is the name applied to them in our service, although in the British navy they are called torpedo cruisers, from the fact that, like a good many other vessels, they have fixed tubes for launching auto-mobile torpedoes. But the *Sergeant* was originally described as a torpedo cruiser, and it is a mistake to have a still more expressive classification, such as the British and our own vessels of this type, in addition to secondary batteries and the six torpedo tubes, carry a main battery of six 6-inch guns, two 4-inch guns, two 3-inch guns, and two 2-inch guns.

The heaviness of this battery in proportion to the displacement of the vessel, and the lack of a double bottom, one of the chief objections to the Archer class in the British navy, and to the *Sergeant* in our service, are displacement averages about 1,700 tons in the American vessels and 1,770 in the British. The *Sergeant* was 1,700 tons, and the *Archer* was 1,770 tons. The *Sergeant* was 1,700 tons, and the *Archer* was 1,770 tons.

In referring yesterday to the seizures of African territory by European Governments within the present century, we spoke of the fact that at one time, according to the view of the British, the American Government had a foothold on the west coast of Africa, and that we could have taken possession of Liberia without the interference of any other power. Seventy years ago our Government cooperated with the American Colonization Society in a scheme for sending colored people from the United States to the region lying between Sierra Leone and Liberia, and in a short time nearly twenty thousand colonists were thus shipped there. The agents of the United States were not allowed to exercise any authority in the colony, the government of which was therefore undertaken by the Colonization Society, and a Constitution was provided under which the colonists were to be governed. The government was established. There were several constitutional changes within the next ten years, but the power of the society increased, and, as late as 1841, its managers here appointed a Governor, and made provision for the levying of duties, the formation of a militia, and the execution of laws within the colony. At that time certain British traders objected to the payment of duties thus imposed, and the British Foreign Secretary sent to Washington for information on the subject under the assumption that Liberia was a colony of the United States. Then it was that the State Department notified the British Minister at Albany, and ordered him to order the authority of the American Government, but was an independent political community, and thereupon the British denied the right of the colonists to levy imposts. 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